000 [42 cont.]
622 the mother's kin group. One of the tasks of the village chief is
372 the guarding of the socha fire. Socha means pure or sacred or taboo.
778 Foods that are prohibited for certain age groups or for one sex are
[262] "socha" for these persons. The word "socha" seems to me to be a
784 very ancient one, or else it is a loan word from another language.
Every place has at least two fires: the ordinary one, which is
166 available to everyone, and the socha fire for men only. When the
373 village moves to another place, the family head takes the socha
[596] fire along. During the march veldkost is gathered. Once they
262 have arrived at the new place, the family head starts a new socha
264 fire under a tall tree and roasts the veldkost. The boys leave im-
621 mediately and go hunting, while the women and girls set up the
[462] windscreen. Whatever the old man has roasted at the socha fire
he is supposed to eat by himself; ordinarily this is what he does.
Finally a messenger arrives and announces that a head of large
game has been killed. Hours pass; the old man simply remains
seated there, while the women and children make themselves
comfortable in the new windscreen. [Fig. 15 appears here.] The
game is brought to the socha fire, and the meat from the legs and
[262] shoulder blade is cut off and given to the women and children,
who are never allowed to eat meat from the bone. All the rest is
[622] consumed by the men at the socha fire. The village chief also has
the task of organizing the celebration for the first veld fruits. The
hordes that I visited no longer practice this custom. Vedder has
described it for the !Kung of Gaub.

● 178 When Lieutenant Fischer rode from Namutoni to the
622 Okovanggo in 1908, the Bushmen everywhere still had a tight
organization and a common leader. When Captain François went
beyond Grootfontein for the first time, he was given considerable
support by the chief of the !Kung Bushmen. It is worthy of note
that the famed copper mines of Tsumeb, on which the welfare of
Southwest Africa depends to a great extent, were discovered by a
Bushman chief (2). Since then the eastern !Kung have not had a

2. He himself was a half-breed.

chief. The northern !Kung supposedly still have one. The oldest
chief I heard of was "χ'amme," the lion. He was a great huntsman.

[42 cont.]

178 622 He died when his successor, Amme, was still a small boy. Amme, however, was unable [43] to learn much from his father; he was not a good chief, and he died while still young. Since then the !Kung Bushmen have not had a supreme chief. One of my informants, Doctor X'amme, claimed to be the great-grandson of the great chief of the same name.

The following from Von Zastrow and Vedder (1) should

1. Op. cit., pp. 412, 424.

be mentioned:

593 596 622 "The father is the chief of the family. All must respect him. Children may not call him by name. -- The chief's posi-

[276]

Fig. 15. Dacha Pipe of the !Kung Bushmen (from the Lindenmuseum, Stuttgart, 29464).

tion is generally passed from father to son. If the son is not yet an adult when his father dies, the father's younger brother takes his place. Each kin group has a territory that has been inherited from ancient times. The territory is called Gao and might correspond to the German concept Gau [canton, district].

423 614

"There are kin groups that are so far apart that a journey of several days lies between them. For example, the territory north of the Omuramba-Owambo near Kajus, where the manketti tree (Ricinodendrum bantaneni) occurs, belongs to a kin group that ordinarily lives over 100 kilometers away and comes there only when the oleaginous fruit is ripe.

"Kin groups with two hunting and gathering regions come into being through the fusion of two kin groups that have intermarried for so long that fusion came about automatically.

[63 cont.]

252 hot, the ashes and fire are taken out, the melons are placed in the hot soil, and the glowing ashes are thrown on them. The next morning the tsama are ready.

301 The largest ostrich egg beads are produced by the Masarwa.

532 Their dance masks are made with pods and cocoons, and
535 sometimes also small hide balls filled with little rattle stones.
323 They still know the art of pottery. White or red body painting is
302 customary.

304 A Bushman tribe at Ngami Lake is supposed to have the custom of removing the last joint of the little finger.

278 Dornan mentions the following medicines of the Masarwa: for black water fever, Anacampseros rhodesica; dysentery, Monsonia ovata and Euclea lanceolata. Other medicines: Cannabis sativa, Solanum nigrum, Lippia asperifolia, Crotalaria burkeana, Pterocarpus angolensis, Datura stramonium, Indigifera senegalensis, Bauhinia reticulata.

752 The Masarwa claim that they can only treat the bite of the puff adder. The body of the Lygosoma sundervalli is charred, and the powder is sprinkled into the wound. Every snake is killed, and
(751) its head crushed. Reportedly there are also inoculations against snakebite.

595 According to Dornan, monogamy prevails among the
836 Masarwa. Sexual intercourse before marriage is prohibited, and
684 incest and adultery are punishable by death. As a rule, the con-
584 sent of the girl is necessary for marriage; it is generally sufficient if the suitor presents his father-in-law with a head of big game. The hunting test is customary only among the Wankie Bushmen
582 and those of Bulalima. One may marry a girl from the same clan. Among those tribes that are totemistically influenced, one may
304 not marry a person of the same totem. Circumcision is practiced.
681 As soon as the boys and girls are about 12 years old, circumcision takes place, for which a stone knife is used. In the case of the girls, the clitoris is pierced with a stone point. Sexual intercourse
(836) between the uncircumcised is strictly prohibited. Occasionally the nasal septum is pierced at the boys' initiation. As among the
761 Bantu, every death is explained as sorcery by human enemies. In
764 olden times the dead were supposedly thrown into the bush;
178 nowadays they are sometimes buried in a crouching position in

[63 cont.]

764 [178] termite hills, sometimes in rock fissures, and commonly Betschuana [Tswana] style, in lateral niche graves. Besides food and water, a man's weapons are put in the grave with him, and for a woman, some ostrich eggs.

776 777 Now for the world view of the Masarwa. As Dornan reports, Thora is the very great one who [64] is above all things. He sends the rain and the game, veldkost and hunting luck. They commonly invoke Thora for luck on the hunt and thank him when they have had it (1).

[113] 1. P. Schebesta, "Die religiösen Anschauungen Südafrikas [The Religious View of South Africa]," Anthropos, XVIII-XIX, 1923-24.

776 [224] [782] Chapman reports that Bushmen who once had killed a rhinoceros sprinkled some dust on the animal's tail and eyes and at the same time murmured words of thanks to Thora.

The Bushmen are not entirely clear as to whether Thora is a spirit or not; in any case they have great respect for him. They believe that Thora makes all things, but they do not know where he lives or whether he is a person. The western tribes primarily use the word Huwe. The Tati, however, also know this word and regard Huwe as a good spirit who keeps away sickness, gives abundant food, and protects the Bushmen in times of danger. They call [782] upon him when in need. The Sansoque say, Huwe ka hume ie ie [539] (Huwe, come and help us). Huwe, however, seems to be weaker than Thora and must turn to him for help. A Bushman song from Thuli goes: Tho-ra ba Hu-we ie ie (Thora, come to the aid of Huwe).

[171] [174] Among many Bushman tribes and also among the Hottentot, an evil principle, "Khauna," is known, a concept that stems from the times when the Bushmen and Hottentot were one people. The [773] Kalahari Bushmen are not certain whether Thora or Khauna made the first human beings.

825 Incidentally, the Kalahari Bushmen believe that men and animals can change their shapes; thus, for example, a person may appear as a leopard. In particular, springboks, baboons, and some snakes are regarded as human beings in another stage of their

NOGAU

[65 cont.]

101 north. Beyond this there is a great river and many black people
131 (Okawango). They know only the Herero as their western neighbors. In other words, they came much later than the latter. Unquestionably as recently as 20 years ago some people of this group were still settled along the central Omurambo Omatako, where F. Seiner reports them from Otjituo and Nuragas. The Naron live south of them, and to the southeast the ≠Auin. In the southwest, at least formerly, there were Bushmen of the Hei//om group and /Gowanin (Sand Kaffir). Probably these Hei//om were the people formerly designated as Saan. Nogau, ≠Auin, and Naron actually belong to
[10] the Kalahari group. Throughout the farm zone which formerly
[175] extended to the English frontier, the tribal units were more or less
648 destroyed, and there arose a mixed Bushman population which constantly replenished its numbers from the free tribes. On the other hand, however, Bushmen from the farm zone always went back to the bush, partly of their own free will and partly in flight from the police. In the Gobabis district the boundary of the police zone coincides with the land boundary. The relationships between the Whites and the Hereros on the one hand, and the Bushmen on the other, are therefore [66] very tense. A few years ago,
175 after the Bushmen had been prohibited from hunting big game,
648 they rebelled and declared a feud against the magistrate in Gobabis by shooting some arrows against the door of his house one night. The magistrate, Van Rynefeldt, wanted to hunt them down in the bush, but was struck by a poisoned arrow shot from ambush and died. A great roundup of Bushmen was organized and many of them were taken to the prison in Gobabis, where a number of them died as a
[178] result of the vitamin-poor diet. Since then the Bushmen in this region have again chosen a chief and represent a modest power. As a result of these conditions, it was much more difficult to gain
123 their confidence than in the north. In this respect, P. Watterott and the village mayor of Epukiro, Franz Arenat, were especially helpful to me. These Bushmen are of special interest since there
195 is a special women's language among them. It is called Hee-aziba he auseashu. It is in part also spoken by the children and is characterized by having many words that have no clicks. It was only with great difficulty that I was able to take down a few words, for example:

≠Auin
Naron
Nogau

[72 cont.]

163 children, who are always approximately two or three years apart.

Among the Naron the bride is formally abducted; the word
585 for "to marry" is the same as "to catch." Actually, however,
[583] negotiations precede this abduction. Among the Naron exogamy
582 now applies only to actual siblings. After the wedding the young
591 couple moves to the village of the bride's parents and sometimes stays there for years. There is also infanticide among the Naron.
847 Otherwise, however, the Bushmen are greatly attached to their
855 children.

5. State and Law

Among the ≠Auin, the chief's position is hereditary in the
622 man's tribe. The same is true among the Nogau. Among the
[178] Naron there are no actual chiefs any more. The last one lost his authority by staying on the farms most of the time as a worker. Bleek believes that formerly such a chief ruled 30 to 50 families.
[701] In most recent times all these tribes had a war chief, at least nominally.

422 Among all three tribes the conception of private ownership
685 of utilitarian objects is very strongly developed, and theft is punishable by death. Every kin group has a certain territorial district. The boundary markers are not clearly defined everywhere
423 in this flat terrain, so that crossing them does not have the same serious consequences as it does in the north. On the other hand, a person who finds game that was killed by arrow poison but not shot by him, may not take any of it. The gathering of veldkost is permitted everywhere. A person who finds a stock of honey, on the other hand, makes a sign there, and it is henceforth his private
[222] property. Among the ≠Auin individual Bushmen burn parts of the
[425] veld, and all the veldkost that grows there is regarded as the individual's private property.

628 The feuds between individual kin groups are designated as
721 wars, but since legal revenge is practiced almost exclusively against members of other hordes, every [73] enforcement of the law at the same time means war. Among the Nogau, war is ceremoniously announced by messengers.

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

174 place, and stayed. In *Nyae Nyae*, the !Kung have since lived on unchanged
[411 —replacing only their bone arrow-
177] points with metal ones, made from the nails and wire that filtered into the desert after the Europeans' entry into South West Africa.

● 178 The !Kung nation cannot so live for much longer. Already their last lands are being occupied by the Herero nation—Bantu-speakers—who say: "The Bushmen are like our children. We feel obligated to care for them." It seems likely that, in a few years, these lands will be farmed by white people. Then, if the past of other Bushmen is any omen, some !Kung will become farm laborers, some will contract syphilis, some will die and some will breed. Few will marry.

000 So much for the little history and the brief geography. How do the !Kung live in *Nyae Nyae?* Human ecology is the study of the relation-

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

sticks. /Kai /Kini cooked his food with the fire. Other people ate raw food. One day ≠*Gao/na* 539
was walking in the veld and he came upon the place where /Kai /Kini was living. He was not there but his children were. They were eating cooked *//karu*. ≠*Gao/na* asked for some and found it very good. ' Oh, you eat nice cooked food,' said ≠*Gao/na*. ' How do you cook it? ' The children said, ' Our father has a nice thing and he always gives us cooked food. He does all the best for us.' ≠*Gao/na* said, ' I shall come back tomorrow and eat this kind of food again.'

Next day he went back. As he was walking along he saw /Kai /Kini and his children digging for food in the ground and he hid himself and watched. When they had gathered enough, they went back to their werf and /Kai /Kini went and got his fire sticks from the place where he had hidden them. He twirled and twirled and twirled the male stick against the female stick, saying, 'Fire will come; fire will come.' When the fire was made and the food was cooking, /Kai /Kini hid his fire sticks again. ≠*Gao/na* was watching all the time. When the food was dished up, he came out from his hiding-place and sat down by the fire and they all ate together.

After a while ≠*Gao/na* said, ' Now we must make a game to play ', and he made a *jani* toy, mounting it with a guinea-fowl feather, weighting it with a *tsi* nut. He tossed it into the air with his stick and, when it floated down, ran and caught it and tossed it up again and again without its ever falling to the ground. /Kai /Kini wanted to play. ≠*Gao/na* gave him the *jani*, but /Kai /Kini could not toss it high and did not get away from his house in following it. ≠*Gao/na* said the guinea-fowl feather was no good, they must put a big paouw feather on it. This they did and the *jani* flew high. ≠*Gao/na* then opened the wind and the wind blew from the eastern side and blew the *jani* toward the west. /Kai /Kini followed and followed it, fascinated, tossing it higher each time he caught it. ≠*Gao/na* followed /Kai /Kini and, when they came to the place where the fire sticks were hidden, he seized them and ran with them into the veld. As he ran he broke them into little pieces and then threw them the whole world over. ' All the world is going to get fire now ', he said. ' Fire, fire, go over the world.' Since then there has been fire in every piece of wood and all men can get it out and cook their food. /Kai /Kini stopped playing and looked at ≠*Gao/na*. ≠*Gao/na* told him, ' It is not right that you alone should have fire. From now on you will not be a person ', and he changed /Kai /Kini into a bird named ≠*ore*.

These events were told by the old old people. They happened long ago.

The Present Image: /Gao/na, *the Creator*

In his present image, the image of power, ≠*Gao/na*, the creator and controller of 776
all things, is very different from the old protagonist. Bushman informants insisted on their belief, nevertheless, that ≠*Gao/na* of the tales and ≠*Gao/na*, the great god of the eastern sky, are one and the same. For them, through the name, one being has merged into the other and a continuity has been maintained.

The /Kung did not bring up the question of how his nature became so changed. [177
I surmise that it may have been when the name *Huwe* found its way from the Berg- 178
dama to the /Kung, and the name *Hishe* from the Auen, that certain elements of the present image came in, changing the earthly old ≠*Gao/na* into a lofty sky god. But I know nothing about the names */Gara*, *Gawi gu*, and ≠*Gaishi* ≠*gai* and nothing about the time or order in which the names may have been created by the /Kung, or adopted, or with which characteristic one or the other may be associated. I *am* sure that current emotional needs and the imaginations of the people who are now living have continued to be at work upon the image, interpreting it, re-creating it, and bringing it to its present form.

working on farms. Many of the Pandamatenga Bushmen work in Victoria Falls and Livingstone. Some have gone as far afield as Lusaka and Salisbury looking for work. The Kwengo Bushmen of Barotseland no longer maintain a hunting way of life. (Clark, personal communication). Their numbers are estimated at 200.

This tally of Bushmen hunter-gatherers gives a total of 9,300 against an overall total of 44,100 Bushmen. Twenty percent of the Bushmen hunting full time seems a much more reasonable proportion than Tobias' 64 percent. It is unlikely that a change of such magnitude could have occurred between the date of his census (1956) and the present one (1964).

The figure of 9,300 is nevertheless quite substantial and indicates the remarkable persistance of the hunting-gathering way of life in spite of the fact that even the most isolated of the hunting tribes maintain close contact with their European ard Bantu neighbors. A large proportion of the /Gwi Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve spend part of the dry season squatting on European farms adjacent to their area. In the north the hunting !Kung often share their waterholes with Bantu cattle herders. Most of the young !Kung men spend a year or more working as cattle herds on a contract basis.

As far as is known, all Bushmen hunting today have had

174
439 The interior !Kung have had trading relations with Bantu
[411] peoples on their periphery for over eighty years. The evidence
[415] for this is the presence of iron-tipped weapons, pottery and
[276] tobacco. The present-day !Kung have no knowledge of iron-working or pottery-making and they do not raise tobacco. The old people state that their grandfathers had these things
[173] before the first non-Bushmen came to the interior. Men in
[411] their 60's and 70's today can remember their grandfathers telling them that they began hunting with bone arrows and did not obtain iron for arrows until they were well into adult
[411] life. The making of bone arrow heads is still common know-
[321] ledge today but, as there is an abundant supply of iron fencing
[325] wire, none of the men hunt with bone. The art of chipping
[178] flint is not known in the Dobe area. It is probable that
[324] these Bantu goods (and also some European goods such as beads and buttons) reached the interior through Bushman trading intermediaries some years before the arrival of the first Bantu and Europeans.

173 Early contacts, 1879-1925 - There is disagreement among the !Kung about whether the Europeans or the Bantu were the first to penetrate the interior. Apparently the first pene-
175 trations occurred during the period 1875-1890. Hendrik Van
648 Zyl, a professional hunter, is the first European known to have reached the interior (Silberbauer 1965:114-115). In the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 56/67]

175
648 The Bushman residents of Bechuanaland, however, were not immediately affected by these restrictions. They continued to hunt and gather on the South West side and to visit their kinsmen at localities in the Nyae Nyae area.

648 The period of European presence, 1960-1965 - In 1960, the
177 South African Government put into operation its plan to civilize the !Kung Bushmen of the interior. A government station was set up at Tsumkwe where a borehole was sunk. Mr. C. V. McIntyre, the Bushman Affairs Commissioner, took up residence at Tsumkwe. The !Kung Bushmen from Nyae Nyae were
[241] ingathered and provided with rations of maize meal. After they had been settled around the borehole a program was initiated to teach them agriculture. Because of a series of drought years this program has not met with success.

[162] By 1964, over 800 !Kung Bushmen had been settled at Tsumkwe. Less than 50 of these people had come from the
[178] Bechuanaland side. It is not clear why the Bechuanaland
[162] !Kung have not participated in this program to a greater
[224] extent, but the fact remains that over 350 !Kung continue to
[222] hunt and gather in the Dobe area and seem to indicate no intention of moving to Tsumkwe.[1]

648 The latest development in the political situation in

---

[1]Some B.P. Bushmen insist that they were refused permission to live at Tsumkwe. Others say they fear to go there.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

with the exception of the southern half of South-West Africa and the western and central districts of the Cape. They are most densely settled in the eastern half of this region, i.e. in the Eastern Province and Native Territories of the Cape, Basutoland, Natal and Zululand, Swaziland, Transvaal, Southern Rhodesia, and Portuguese East Africa, while in the central and western portions—Orange Free State, British Bechuanaland, Bechuanaland Protectorate, and South-West Africa—they are much less numerous, although still greatly outnumbering the other native peoples. They are essentially negroes who have absorbed a varying amount of Hamitic blood, and therefore tend to differ somewhat in appearance from the Bergdama. Their languages belong to the great Bantu language family of Central and Southern Africa, and in grammatical structure and vocabulary are quite unlike those of the other South African native peoples. They are also on a higher level of culture, combining cultivation of crops with pastoralism as their principal means of subsistence, their communities are on the whole far larger, and their social organization is somewhat more complex.

H
B
178

Of these four groups of native peoples. the Bushmen and the Hottentots have both declined considerably in strength and numbers as a result of the encroachment first of the Bantu and then of the European settlers. The whole culture of the Hottentots has fallen largely into decay, and the majority of the people have even lost their own language and adopted that of the Dutch; while such tribes of Bushmen as still survive appear to be gradually dying out or at least merging with their Bantu neighbours. The Bergdama seem to have suffered less in regard to numbers, but their culture too is undergoing rapid disintegration. The social cohesion of the people in all three instances has been almost completely broken down. As far as present economic or political importance is concerned, they are relatively negligible in problems of inter-racial relationship, while numerically they are so inferior to the whites as to be considered an insignificant minority.

The Bantu peoples, on the other hand, are still vigorous and powerful, and in their economic and political relations with the European inhabitants of the country present one of the most vital problems now confronting European civilization in South Africa. They greatly outnumber the white population, and appear to be steadily increasing, a fact which is giving rise to much apprehension on the part of the latter. Their social and political organization, too, is so

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

372 decorated with burned lines) on which meat is roasted, and scoops
[412] for hoeing out the earth loosened with the digging-stick. The North-
[415] western tribes also manufacture wooden cooking pots (sometimes decorated with burned patterns of simple design), calabashes for holding fat and other liquids, eating vessels and spoons, as well as pestles and mortars, the latter often provided with a stone bottom,
[283] which are used for pounding up dried berries, etc. Wood fibre is twisted into cord, from which they prepare their snares and sometimes their bow-strings and make nets for carrying their belongings.

824 Reeds provide them with arrow-shafts and with the tubes for
285 sucking up water, as well as with the material from which they make
[412] their fish-traps and weave closely-stranded mats for sifting ants' eggs. Reed mats are also occasionally used in the building of their huts.

237 Ostrich egg-shells are converted into bottles for holding water,
[415] and are also broken up into very small pieces from which the women
[306] make their beads. Tortoise-shells are used as spoons and scoops, and are also made into powder boxes for containing *buchu*. Small
412 drills are made of stone for the manufacture of ostrich egg-shell
324 beads, larger ones for the manufacture of serpentine pipes; two or
[439] three stones are also used as anvils for working the iron obtained by
[326] barter, or for the purpose of grinding berries, and besides these a few smaller stones are to be seen used for hammer stones or rubbing stones.

178 The other types of stone implements, which link up the Bushmen with
324 the prehistoric cultures of South Africa, are now almost certainly no
[323] longer made; nor, too, are the crude pots of clay formerly used by the Cape Bushmen.

281 From the skins of animals killed in the chase, again, are made karosses, loin cloths, sandals, caps, leather bags, quivers, tobacco pouches, etc. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing the shafts of the bows and arrows, and as thread for sewing skins, while in some cases it also provides the string for the nets in which
321 personal belongings are carried. The long bones of the ostrich and various kinds of big game are used for making the foreshafts and points of arrows, while other bones are made into knives, awls, pipes, etc. Horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-points during the rainy season, implements for
[237] stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc., while
[415] the stomach of large animals, when not required for food, is fashioned into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

and make the heavens the theatre of numberless poetically-conceived histories"—in which, as the texts obtained by him show, Bushman mythology is extremely rich.[1]

The selections so far published from these texts are too few to enable us to determine anything more about the nature of the worship directed to these heavenly bodies, and especially about the ceremonies associated with them; but that such worship did actually exist is evident from the facts recorded above.

There is no mention of similar prayers among the Namib Bushmen, but then no information at all is available about their ideas relating to the heavenly bodies. Among the tribes further north we again meet with moon worship. Both Naron and Auen still worship the Moon. They regard it as an old man, the Sun as a young girl, who is his wife. First the Moon pursues the Sun across the sky, later the Sun follows the Moon. They go down to their houses below the horizon in the west, then fly back at night across the earth to their houses in the east. They can be heard passing, but are not seen. The New Moon, when it appears, is invoked by the magicians, two of whom, man and woman, sit on the ground together, holding their hands out palms upward towards it, and say: "Give us rain that we may live." This worship of the Moon has penetrated into modern ideas also, for most of the people think that since the Moon is in the sky and the God (*!khuba*) the white men and Nama speak of is also in the sky, therefore God is the Moon. Their ancestors used also to pray to certain stars, particularly the morning star and the Southern Cross; but these prayers, says Miss Bleek, are memories of long ago, whereas the moon worship is continued to-day by young as well as old.[2]

A prayer to the New Moon for food, given in the eighties of last century by a Kung youth from near Lake Ngami, is also recorded in the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd[3]; but according to Lebzelter there is nowadays no trace at all among the Kung of either sun or moon worship. The sun is regarded as a woman, the moon as a man, who originally lived upon earth and were carried about on the shoulders of people; but the latter became tired of their burdens

[1] Bleek, "Resemblances in Bushman and Australian Mythology," *Cape Monthly Mag.*, Feb., 1874, 101–2; *idem*, *Bushman Texts*, 10–12, 15; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 8, 22; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 72–99 *et passim*; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Folklore," 304, 307.

[2] *Naron*, 26–7.

[3] *Bushman Folklore*, 414–15.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

makes thunder and lightning, the stars are his fire, and he kills people by means of shooting stars. Finally, among the Eastern Kung, */nawa* or the chief of the *//gauab* figures as the creator, and, as the executive of *Xu*, he is the source of good luck in hunting and is honoured with the first-offerings of the chase and prayers for success; he is also, however, most frequently the cause of illness. It seems extremely probable that in all these cases the conceptions of *Huwe* on the one hand and of *//gaua* on the other have been blended or confused; they are sufficiently distinct in other respects to make this assumption appear not entirely groundless. The same explanation may be advanced for the conflicting reports given by Miss Bleek and by Fourie of one important feature in the Auen puberty ceremonies for boys: according to the former, it is *Hishe* who figures in the special dances, while the latter states that this function is fulfilled by *Gaua*. *//gaua*, it will be remembered, also presides at a girl's puberty dance among the !O Kung. Whether we have here a similar confusion is uncertain, since in none of the other Bushman tribes do the supernatural beings figure in these ceremonies for girls. But a suggestion that this may be the case is conveyed by the fact that one of Miss Bleek's informants identified *//gaua* with *Ndzambi*, the Mbunda (Bantu) word for deity, used by the missionaries for "God", while another spoke of *//gaua* as the "father" of the Bushmen.

We are left, therefore, with the conception of *Huwe*, *Thora*, or the Mantis (among the Basutoland Bushmen) as the creator, the source of the beneficent rain and of good luck in hunting and food gathering, and the protector of his people from illness and danger; and with the conception of *//gaua* first as the ghosts of the dead and then as a personified being, in both cases the source of illness and death, inflicted in the latter case through the medium of thunder, lightning, shooting stars, etc. This analysis is not advanced as an interpretation of the meaning of these beings, nor does it ignore the possibility of elements having been borrowed from other peoples; it is intended merely to summarize briefly what appear to be from the accounts of our authorities the principal religious conceptions common to most of the Bushmen of the present time.

Magic and Magicians

In all the Bushman tribes people are found who deal in the mysterious or supernatural, who are regarded as endowed with

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

532 172 [178] Perhaps the most remarkable feature in the whole culture of the Bushmen was their pictorial art, consisting of paintings and engravings executed on rock surfaces (Plate XIII).[1] The practice of this art has now almost completely died out, a necessary consequence of the virtual extermination of the artists themselves. Its study now belongs to the province of archæology, for save in a few rare instances it has proved impossible so far to find any living people who could interpret the designs or throw any light upon the social aspects of the art. The paintings and engravings remain as a very valuable record of an art that now seems to be lost; but they have proved a most important link in the chain of evidence connecting the Bushmen with the prehistoric cultures not only of South Africa but of East and North Africa also, as well as of South-Western Europe.[2]

Their distribution in South Africa extends from the Brandberg Mountains in South-West Africa to the upper reaches of the Tugela River in Natal, from the Humansdorp district on the south coast right up to the Zambesi River in the north. They are found especially over the greater part of the Cape, Griqualand West, Basutoland, Orange Free State, Transvaal, and Southern Rhodesia, but occur also in parts of South-West Africa, British Bechuanaland, and Natal. This distribution no longer coincides with that of the Bushmen themselves. It is impossible therefore to say whether all the tribes possessed the artistic talent or not. The Bushmen south of the Molopo River certainly painted down to a very recent date, and so did certain of the Namib groups.[3] The rocks in the north-west may be evidence that the ancestors of the Auen and the Kung also did so, but the present people certainly do not, and have not even any traditions relating to the art.[4] In the Kalahari itself, where most [135] of the surviving Bushmen now live, the absence of suitable rock material precludes the practice of the art. It is perhaps no wonder, therefore, that the tribes found there have not the faintest recollections of it. Dornan, however, states that the Bushmen living along the Sansokwe River, in the extreme Eastern Kalahari, were still painting a few years ago.[5]

[1] The literature on this aspect of Bushman culture is voluminous. The most useful general works are: Tongue, *Bushman Paintings*, 1909; Moszeik, *Die Malereien der Buschmänner*, 1910; Zeliźko, *Felsgravierungen der südafrikanischen Buschmänner*, 1925; Burkitt, *South Africa's Past in Stone and Paint*, 1928, chaps. vii–ix, and bibliography.

[2] Cf. Schapera, "Some Stylistic Affinities of Bushman Art," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxii (1925), 504–15; Burkitt, op. cit., *passim*.

[3] The evidence is discussed by Moszeik, op. cit., 10–15; cf. Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, p. xiv; Hahn, "Felszeichnungen der Buschmänner," *Verh. Berl. Ges. Anthrop.*, 1879, 306–7. [4] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 41. [5] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 182, 188–9.